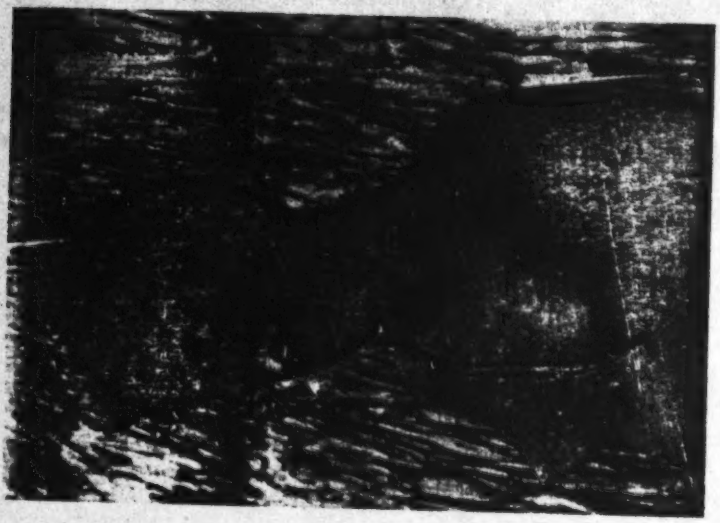
1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 9



A NEWLY MARRIED PAIR: KAKARI AND MUBEN

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291
301
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[Facing p. 102]

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PLATE 10

142
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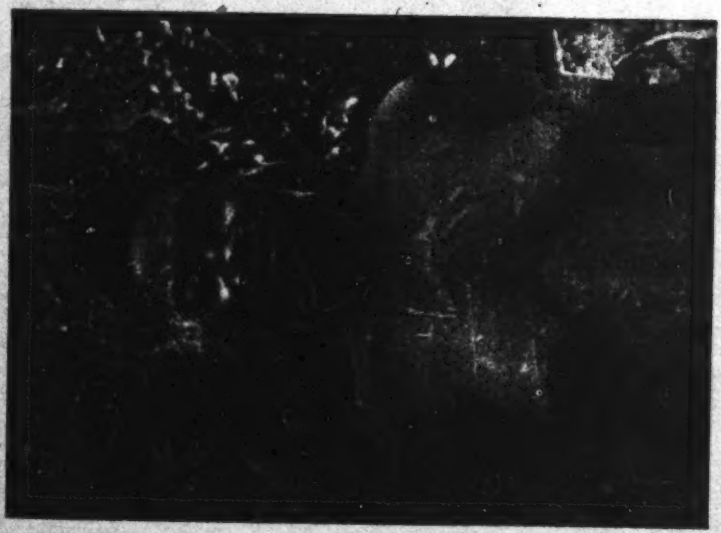
b. TARUBI



a. IRA

THE BELLES OF THE VILLAGE

[Facing p. 108]

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this cord now that the child is big?' If the grown child finds it himself, he will ask his mother to throw it away. If it were thrown away while the child is still small, he would become ill. This is explained on the grounds that some evilly-disposed person might find it and make bad medicine with it against the child. I have often been shown such bits of shrivelled cord, covered with lime-powder, lying in the bottom of these receptacles, and been told to which child each had belonged. The mother will not sell or part with a lime-pot containing her child's cord, for fear it might fall into the hands of some one who would bring disaster on the child.

The placenta (*pem* or *piom*) is thrown on to a piece of areca-nut fibre and is shortly afterwards buried in the house, together with the membranes (*ɛ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃*). A fire is made over the filled-in hole. If the placenta were thrown away into the bush some one might get hold of it and 'make poison' to kill the mother. It is noteworthy that the evil effects of carelessness with regard to the umbilical cord are thought to react on the child, those due to carelessness in the treatment of the placenta, on its mother.

If the child is born dead, the cord is not severed, but the body, with the placenta still attached, is buried in the house, near one of the side-walls. An early miscarriage, described as 'child not enough yet', is buried under the woman's bed.

Immediately the cord has been severed, the baby is taken up and all means are used to make it cry lustily. As soon as its cry satisfies the attendant women, it is put to the breast. When it has proved that it is able to suck, it is taken away again, and its head and face are moulded by one of the attendant women, by pressure exerted at the back, sides, and forehead. This procedure is called *totobin*. They like the back and sides of the head to rise perpendicularly, without bulging. In later life their method of trimming the hair is also designed to emphasize this shape, which is also imitated in their ceremonial figures. The nose of the infant is pinched, so that it will not be too flat. Flat noses are much disliked, and if extreme become objects of ridicule. The mother continues this moulding and pinching at intervals, whenever she happens to think about it. As far as my personal observation goes, I do not think she does it often enough, or with enough persistent pressure, actually to cause any alteration in the shape of the child's head such as might be described as artificial deformation. No extraneous aids, such as

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both feet, hissing the while, in a series of jerks. (This is different from the ordinary dance steps as performed by the women at other times, and I did not see it done on any other occasion.) Some women formed lines and danced together, some danced alone. Nawi danced also. This went on for a long time.

September 17. Nawi can now walk about the village, but she must not go to the taro garden nor do any work.

This state of things continued till

September 20. On this day Nawi went for the first time to fetch water, but she must not yet go to the taro garden.

On September 21 I was unfortunately obliged to leave the village for a few days. When I returned, Nawi was working as usual, but neither she nor any one else could tell me which day she first went to the taro garden. It was definitely more than ten days from the time of the first appearance of the flux.

As I went on my way I met a man from Baniu, who said he had come to fetch Nawi and take her to Tendru, a village farther along the coast, where there was to be a cicatrization ceremony, at which she would be 'cut', together with three other girls. I was invited to attend, but when I went to the village on the appointed day I found that Nawi had run away into the bush and refused to go, and her parents said they would not insist on her undergoing the operation. One of the other girls, from another village, had also run away, and a third was ill. Since only one candidate remained, the ceremony did not take place.

DETAILS OF MIXTURE USED IN NAWI'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

The following description of the preparation of roots and leaves used for the drink which was shared on the third day of the proceedings was given me subsequently, by the men who made it. These were three of the younger men of the village, Wasē, Tchub, and Bwapip; they did it because Tchub knew the method of making it, having been taught by his mother and father (his father has been dead for some time, his mother is alive and resides in the village, but she did not superintend the preparation of the mixture). None of the men is related to Nawi, but all belong to the same clan. I think, however, that this is not essential.

A stand must be made from the branches of a tree called *awitʃ*. This is done by setting up four straight branches about 3 feet in

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other clan resident in the village, but these were not allowed to eat in the house. The women of the Manu clan ate on the back verandah, outside the house. This is the only occasion on which women may come to the men's house. When all the provisions had either been eaten or packed up to take home, the people dispersed.

In accordance with the practice of making the most of an occasion, this feast, which was primarily intended for the new men's house, was also made to serve for the burying of the pillow belonging to Gonu's father, and for the piercing of the nasal septum of four boys who had reached the appropriate age. Both of these proceedings are described elsewhere (pp. 492 and 425).

Fire-making

Fire is made by the stick and groove method (Pl. 57). A stick of hard wood, whittled to a point—now by a trade knife, but formerly by means of a black-lip oyster-shell or with the teeth, is rubbed along a larger piece of soft wood, held down firmly, on the ground or on a log, by a second person. The person rubbing crosses his fingers over the rubbing-stick and moves it up and down using considerable pressure, till a groove is formed in the softer wood below. The dust rubbed away is pushed into a heap at the far end of the groove by means of a splinter. No other tinder is used. The time required varies considerably with the skill of the performer, but a spark is usually produced in a few seconds. The spark is then blown very carefully until the sawdust at the end of the groove ignites.

Several kinds of trees were named as being suitable for both the rubbing-stick and the grooved stick. It is essential that one should be hard and the other soft, and that the wood used for the grooved stick should have a straight grain.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH FIRE-MAKING

Term	*Explanation*
tsura	fire.
io to ium no tsura	I make fire by rubbing.
wakō	to hold the stick on which the other man is rubbing. This stick has no special name.
weniun	the pointed stick with which the rubbing is done.
kawn	the sawdust produced by the rubbing, which becomes the tinder.

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534 This is put on or omitted at the pleasure of the maker, and is said to be purely decorative. A certain amount of ceremony is observed in the making of a big slit-gong. When it is brought into the village out of the bush there is a *kōma*. The ritual was not carried out in the case of the small one made for me, and I have no details of it.

533 534 *Method of use.* The slit-gong is beaten with a striker (*imē*), which is generally made of several small canes lashed together in a circle, but a single thicker cane may also be used. For dances, two people frequently beat it together, one using slow measured strokes, the other short quick ones. These may be sounded by the two players on one instrument, or a second slit-gong may be used. Only one lip of the slit is beaten, that on the side nearest to the striker. It is struck where it stands in its place inside the covered portico in front of the house of a *tsunaun*, or in a *tobar*, and is seldom brought out into the open. When Pinari's slit-
533 gong had been brought over to Kurtatchi from the old village of
534 Gomen, it was first set down outside his house, and he appointed
562 some men to beat it in order to announce its safe arrival. But they 'were ashamed to beat it in front of the women', so they moved it into the portico after a few beats. On another occasion, when a Kurtatchi man, attending a feast at Ruri in connexion
[304] with a nose-piercing ceremony involving his son, was asked to help in the beating, he declined on the ground that he was ashamed to do so before the Ruri women.

At Kurtatchi the slit-gong was always beaten by men, even for a women's dance, and I was told that women never do it. But Mr.
[184] Gordon Thomas says that on the island of Pororan women beat for their own dances (1931, p. 224). There does not seem to be any actual taboo attaching to the instrument itself; men sit or lean on it, children climb over it, and I have occasionally heard small boys beating it for fun.

533 The rhythm for a *kōma* is always the same, and sounds thus (each stroke indicates a long slow beat, the dots a rapid tattoo like that produced on a kettle-drum):

/ / /.....! / / /.....! / / /.....!

This is continued for the space of a minute or so, then follows a pause of similar duration. The beating always ceases on the single stroke, which is given with great emphasis. If two instruments are used, their beats must cease simultaneously. To achieve

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[527] 6. To announce the killing of a prisoner of war (to be eaten):

/ // /..// /..// /..//..// /////..//

[484] 7. To collect a party which is to go on a journey at night:

/ ..... //// ..... //// ..... ////

[881] 8. To announce that one of the *upi* ceremonies is to be held:

/// ...../// ...../// ...../// .....////

9. At a certain stage in the girl's puberty ceremony:

/// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// ..

10. If a man is angry about something, e.g. if another man 'steals' his wife:

/ ..... /..... / // ..... /

11. To indicate the number of pigs killed for a feast, or the number of strings of ceremonial currency which changed hands at some special occasion, e.g. at marriage, or on account of the building of a new *tobar*. All such quantities are shown by giving one long slow beat for each pig, or string of currency, &c., involved in the transaction.

Other occasions on which the *garamuts* is beaten are as follows:

[476] To call the villagers together for some piece of communal labour, such as cleaning up the coco-nut groves or working on the road.

To announce the completion of a special piece of work, such as the building of a *tobar*.

[681] To announce a punishment by shooting, when a man has committed an offence for which he is sentenced to stand on the beach to be shot at by the other people.

[304] At a certain stage in the process of cicatrization.

[881] At various stages in the preparations for the *watawutf* ceremony.

On one occasion a man had gone into the bush with his dogs to hunt pig. In the evening the dogs returned without him. The *garamuts* was beaten with long slow beats to give him his direction, in case he was lost in the bush.

It is sometimes sounded for no other apparent reason than that the village is happy because there is a plentiful supply of food. One day it was thus beaten because every one had had a feast of bread-fruit.

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The belts made by women during the period of mourning for a

301 765 565 283 824 *tunaun* (see Chap. XIV, p. 497, and Pl. 75) have a warp of the fibre growing round the base of the banana palm. The black threads in the weft are obtained from the trunk of the bush banana (*wirtsun*); white ones consist of the same substance scraped and rubbed with sand. The yellow threads are made from the midrib of the leaves of a plant called *kika'ie* (*Cycas* sp.), dyed with *totomoin* (turmeric). The red threads of the specimen figured (in Pl. 75) were drawn from the maker's loin-cloth; in the olden days she would have taken leaves of the plant used in making the red part of the women's hoods, dyed with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

Deformation of the Person.

● 304 *Head.* Babies' heads are manipulated at birth and afterwards for some weeks, by pressing the hands at the back and sides to make them perpendicular. The effect desired is that which is increased by the method of hair-dressing. At birth it is done by the old women attending, frequently the grandmother, afterwards by the mother whenever she thinks of it. There is no 'cradle-board 854 deformation'. Babies are put to sleep on the ground, on a woman's hood or a plank, but their position is varied, and they do not spend a great deal of time on their backs, so that no pressure is exercised in this way. No head-dress or bandage is used on babies. They are not nursed on the arm persistently enough to influence their head form at all.

304 *Nose.* A baby's nose is pinched soon after birth to make it grow long. A flat nose is much disliked and is a subject of ridicule. The septum is pierced at the age of five or six. It is done to children of both sexes, and is still general. The reason given is that if the septum is pierced, when the individual dies, the worms will go through the hole and will not eat the body.[1]

304 852 As a rule, a special feast is made on the occasion of the piercing. But if a feast is in progress for some other reason, it will be made to serve for the piercing as well. Should the village be in mourning for a *tunaun*, so that no feast is permitted, the operation may be carried out without one, if the children's parents do not wish to delay it till the end of the mourning period. The actual

[1] See further discussion in Chap XIV. For another instance of the connexion between nose-piercing and the fate of the dead, cf. Codrington (1891, p. 256) who states that in Florida the ghosts of those whose noses were pierced could follow the easy path.

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operation should be performed either at sunrise or at sunset. If done in the heat of the day, 'the sun would make the wound sore'. 304 852

I saw the nose-piercing operation performed upon four boys at the village of Tung, W. Buka. They took advantage of the feast made for the new men's house, described in Chapter X, p. 389. The ages of the boys varied from about eight to about five; it was said that the youngest was included at his own request. One of the older men operated. I did not know the people well, and I omitted to ascertain whether he was chosen for any special reason. The boy came and sat on the platform in front of the new 'men's house'. The operator first warmed his index finger and thumb against a piece of smouldering wood, then pinched the septum, drawing it outwards. The hole was then made with an iron pig-spear, which was held in the septum for a few moments. In the olden days it was done with a sharply pointed piece of hard wood from the tree called *ariko*, a species of areca-nut. As soon as it was withdrawn a small stick was inserted. There seemed to be no bleeding. The first boy hardly made a sound and did not wince at all. He had a clam-shell nose-piece inserted instead of the stick. The second victim howled and tried to get away, and was held down by another man. The other two, including the youngest, flinched just a little, and whimpered. After the stick had been put in, the operator heated his finger and thumb again and pressed them against the front of the septum, pushing backwards. As soon as the operation was finished, the boys went to the back of the hut, where a screen of sago-palm leaves had been put up for them, dividing the hut into two unequal halves. I was told that they would stay there for a week without coming out. If they looked at a stone or the root of a coco-nut tree, the wound would become sore. At the end of the week they would go and wash it in the sea. Later a larger piece of cane would be given them.

Nose-pieces of clam-shell (*ahuin*) are worn by both sexes and all ages. They vary in size, curvature, and weight (see Pl. 67, no. 7). They are generally kept for ceremonial occasions, a bit of stick or a rolled-up leaf being substituted on ordinary days, but there is nothing to prevent any one from wearing the *ahuin* at any time if desired. Whatever is worn through the septum is easily removable; many people have a habit of moving it backwards and forwards with the index-finger and thumb as they walk or talk. 301 [155] [201]

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Sometimes they say the hole is painful and will leave it empty for a few days.

Several people had the septum torn right through. This means that the unfortunate individual cannot wear a nose-piece any more, since there is no way of mending it.

Ears. The ears are pierced at about the same age as the septum, sometimes at the same ceremony, but this is usually considered to be too much for the child. It is done in the same way as the septum. I had no opportunity of seeing this operation. The people of Buka and North Bougainville bore one hole only. The Kunua people bore two small ones; they wear the bone of a flying fox threaded through both holes, and an ornament made of tortoise-shell and disks made of flat sections of a small shell (*popoli*) may be hung on it (Pl. 67, no. 6).

Where there is only one hole, a number of small tortoise-shell rings (*wawakut*) are worn, from which *popoli* are hung. All sorts of things may be put into the hole, rolled leaves, sticks of tobacco, &c. My empty cartridge cases introduced a new fashion. I have also seen shillings carried thus, though these are more likely to be placed inside the ear. The lobe is frequently greatly elongated; when in this condition a pipe stem may be put through the hole and the lobe twisted round to keep it in position. Any article put through the hole in the ear-lobe is called *wapis*.

Owing to the strain to which they are thus subjected, ear-lobes are often torn right through. There is no method of repairing this injury, but another hole may be made above it. The ear-lobe is never torn intentionally.

Teeth. There is no extraction, filing, or other manipulation of the teeth. Gaps are frequently seen, even in young people, but this is due to the teeth falling out on account of disease. The teeth are always, except in quite young children, discoloured by constant chewing of the betel-mixture.

Cicatrization.

Tattooing is not practised. It would not show to advantage on these dark skins. Its place is taken by cicatrization. There are two distinct types of marking. One may be put on at any time, and is done either by the individual himself or by a friend; the other is a ceremonial affair performed in childhood by certain recognized practitioners.

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The 'unofficial' marking consists of cuts made with a shell or a piece of glass, some more or less random as to their direction, some in sets of three, when they are supposed to represent the trail of the hermit crab (*sisir a kobar*). They are made on the arms or chest (see Pl. 11). Or a weal in the shape of a hollow circle may be made on the chest by pressing the hot bowl of a pipe against the skin; this is called *wawa'ets*. A small, solid, round weal, frequently seen in rows down the back of the arm, is made by pressing the cut end of the stem of a leaf of the tree called *lasebē* on the skin. A white milky sap is exuded which after a day or two causes an eruption not unlike that consequent upon vaccination which leaves a permanent weal, but it does not 'take' on some people. To mark themselves in this way is a favourite amusement with young girls. Scars are also made by pressing the stalk of a coco-nut, which has been heated in the fire, on to the surface of the skin. There is no ceremonial attached to these forms of marking.

The formal cicatrization is a much more elaborate affair. A man is usually scarred on chest and shoulders and the upper portion of the back, a woman all over her chest and abdomen, and frequently also on the thigh, not quite to the knee. Some people have the face scarred; in this case the body is not done (Pl. 69*a*). Certain patterns are signs of rank, others may be used by any one. The amount of cutting done depends entirely on the wish of the parents. It is not hereditary, but a father will often have his son cut with the same pattern as he has himself. Not every native is thus marked. Some account for their untouched skins by saying that they ran away at the time the ceremony was to be held, in which case it is not, as a rule, forced upon them later. It is gradually falling into disuse, being severely discouraged by the missionaries.

I did not see the operation performed. Nawi, the girl whose first menstruation ceremony is described in Chapter VIII, was ready for marking, but she was to go to the village of Baniu, where she had relatives, for the ceremony, as soon as there was enough taro for the necessary food-distribution accompanying it. The ceremony could not be performed at Kurtatchi because the *wata-wutf* had not been performed for the boys; pending this the cutting ceremony was taboo. If it were done, the girl would die, and her relatives would be very angry and 'make poison' to kill the people who had committed this breach of rule. The mere possibility was referred to with horror, and appeared to amount to

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304 852 sacrilege. The ceremony for Nawi was actually arranged, and Nawi was escorted over to Baniu for the purpose, but she and another girl ran away and hid in the bush, a third was ill, and as only one more child was ready for it, the ceremony was abandoned. When I left the island they were still uncertain whether it would be held at all.

The subjoined account of the procedure was obtained mainly from Pari, one of the older women, herself a woman of rank and heavily marked. As usual, it was commented upon freely by the audience, who prompted her when she left out any detail they considered of importance.

[887] The cutting is done by old women. Some people are well known for their skill, and are much in demand. The names of three were [614] given to me, one at Tabut, one at Ruri, and one at Timputs. The woman usually belongs to the same clan as the child, e.g. a Nakarib woman will not, as a rule, undertake to cut a Naboin child; she would be too much ashamed. But if the child's mother's people, i.e. his relatives of the Naboin clan, very much desire the cutting to be done by a certain woman, she may be persuaded to undertake it even though she belongs to the Nakarib clan.

304 565 437 If the child is *tsunaun* and has an elaborate pattern, a fathom of *imun* (currency made of flying fox or porpoise teeth, worth about £5 in native opinion) may be paid for the operation. The child's mother pays it direct to the woman herself. For a commoner, other things of less value are given.

304 852 The children are not told what is going to happen to them. If they find out they often run away.

On the day before that fixed for the operation, a basket is filled with the black-lip oyster-shell knives which are to be used. This basket is rubbed over the back of a pig, which is then allowed to run away. The purpose of this action is to prevent the skin of the child from being hard and difficult to cut. All the women take the basket in turn and carry it round and round as they *kōma*. They *kōma* all night.

Next day the people all collect, and some men go and cut poles to make a platform for the child to lie upon. The women carry the poles back to the village, each woman carrying one. When they reach the village they put the poles on their shoulders and walk round in a circle and *kōma* with them. Then they are laid on the ground in front of the principal house. The men put in posts for

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The new put in posts for

them to rest on. The platform, when finished, is about 2 feet wide and about 4 feet from the ground. (Measurements shown by gestures.)

A number of children are usually operated on at one time. The child of most importance is taken first. He is made to lie on the platform, and some women hold him down. The child's mother, father, brothers, and sisters must stay inside their own huts. They must not see the operation; if they did, the child's skin would prove hard, the knife would break, and the operation would be a lengthy one, and would probably not be finished at sunset. If this should happen, the mother takes the child away at sunset, and the marking is left unfinished. It may, however, be finished subsequently.

The woman who is to do the cutting prepares herself by chewing the root of the plant *mogo* with the betel-mixture, and rubbing the mixture on her hand. This ensures that she will cut quickly and that her hand will not be heavy.

All the time the operation is proceeding the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. They say that this is done so that the child will not feel the pain of the cutting, but my informants admitted that they knew it had no such effect, but merely drowned the child's cries.

Women hold the child's legs and arms, and a man holds his head back so that he cannot see what is being done. If the face is to be cut, this is done first, no further marking being cut until the face has healed, or the body may be left without marks. The children to be operated on subsequently are kept inside the hut.

The child cries and screams all the time. He will say: 'Oh, mother, I am dying of thirst, let me come down and have a drink,' or, 'Father, come and take me away, I am dying.' He says to the woman who is holding him: 'Put me down; I want to go and relieve myself.' He is only making an excuse to get away. The woman takes no notice.

A big branch of the tree called *reyto* (which has soft leaves) is planted near the platform, the leaves are used to wipe away the blood at intervals so that the operator can see what she has done. The blood is caught in a *kōbū* (dish made of areca-nut fibre). It is then thrown into the sea at a certain place. This place is taboo for fishing, and women may not get shell-fish from the reef there. For Kurtatchi, the place is called Ur; it is on the beach a few hundred

[i.e., poles for the horizontal section of the platform—A.]

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yards west of the site of the present village. A big stone called *Musoa banui* marks the place.

When the cutting is finished, the skin is first washed, then lime is rubbed in. *Tanek* (betel-pepper) is chewed and spat upon the place. Then a dry coco-nut is scraped, and a pinch of the scraped meat is taken between the finger and thumb of the operator and dabbed on to the sores. This is to make the scab of the sore come off so that it will not fester underneath. If the sore becomes septic, coco-nut oil is rubbed into it, and pith from the stem of the plant *rurupari*. If the cuts are made too deep, they 'break open the belly' and the child dies. The names of two Kurtatchi children who had died in this way were given to me.

When one child is finished, the man who has held his head takes him on his shoulder and goes round and round while all the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. The child is then taken into the house and another brought out.

After all the children have been cut there is a small feast. One pig is set aside for it, and the women prepare taro. The food is distributed among those present; they all eat; then the platform is taken up by the men and brought into the hut.

After the operation is finished, the children must stop inside the house for ten days, only coming out to relieve themselves. The girls must put on their hoods whenever they come out for this purpose. If they do not, or if children of either sex walk about too much, white ants will get into the sores and make them very painful. A girl who is cut about the thighs is so sore that she cannot bear to wear a loin-cloth, but goes naked.

As a rule, several children are cut at one time, both boys and girls. Naniu, Tapē, Bori, Puta, and Tawar were all cut together. This indicates that the ages vary considerably, since Maniu and Tawar are now, I estimate, about 9 or 10, Bori about 19, and Tapē and Puta somewhat older then Bori. It is best to have the operation done when the child is young. Some are cut much later and are sometimes made very ill by it.

The effect of the operation can be seen from the photographs (Pls. 69, 70). Not infrequently the wounds become septic and heal badly, with results which we should think very disfiguring, but which do not seem to be so considered by the natives, though they are not admired as much as well-marked patterns. By no means extreme cases of badly healed cicatrization are shown in Pl. 71.

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PLATE 69

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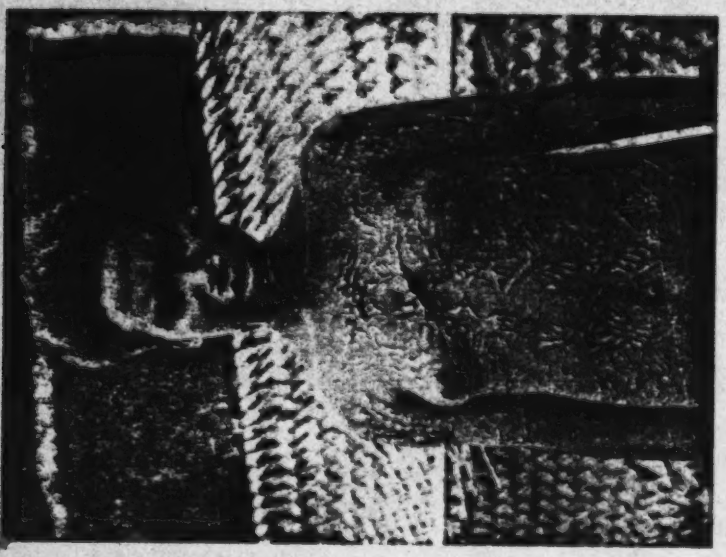

b. BODY OF WOMAN (COMMONER)

CICATRIZATION

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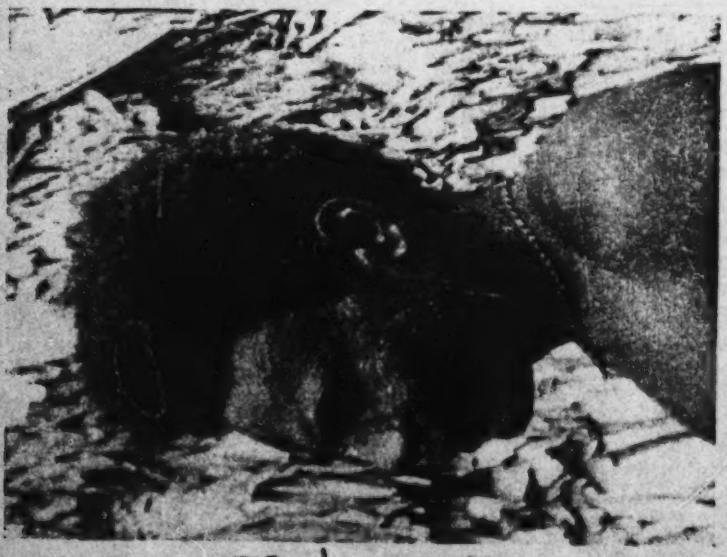

a. FACE

[facing p. 430]

PLATE 70

a. BODY OF WOMAN (*TSUNAUN*)

b. BACK (*TSUNAUN*): *LALÓM* PATTERN

CICATRIZATION

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

304 [89] The reason given for this practice is that if it is not done too much blood stays in the body and the child will not grow big.[1] On the girls, it is supposed to 'make their milk come up'. It [832] is also liked by the men. 'They say: "That is a fine woman, she has good marks on her body".' Tapē (Pl. 69*b*) was mentioned —by a man—as one of the most beautiful girls in the village. She is a commoner and the pattern on her body can be used by any one.

304 184 Besides the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners there are also differences due to locality. The patterns in the list here given are used by the people of the north coast of Bougainville, as far as, and including, the island of Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner, which also in other respects belongs to the same group. The Hahon people (inhabitants of the mountain district behind the northern coast-line) make a mark shaped thus ⸗⸗ in the centre of each cheek. The body is left unmarked except for a small ring on either buttock. The Kunua people have a line on each cheek, curving from the edge of the nostril up to the outer canthus, some ending in a circle on the upper portion of the cheek, just in front of the zygomatic arch. A child I saw, who looked no more than about eighteen months old, already had these marks. The coast people told me that the Kunua people put them on much earlier than they themselves did.

304 The following list gives the principal patterns in general use. It is worthy of note that the one called *lalōm* (Pl. 70*b*), used on the [565] back of the neck of persons who are *tsunaun*, is almost identical [171] with that placed on the foreheads of the Araha (chiefly) clan among the people of San Cristoval (Fox, 1924, p. 16).

NAMES OF PATTERNS CUT ON SKIN

304 192 *pipi*, general term for cicatrization.
gom, marks cut on the face. These usually follow the features to some extent, somewhat like the Maori tattooing, but much less elaborate.
lalōm, pattern on back of neck of person of rank (m. or f.) (see Pl. 70*b*).

lalōm

wabuin

[1] As far as I could learn, the presence or absence of these marks had no connexion with the fate of the individual after death, as reported for the SE. Solomons by Ivens (1927, p. 182).

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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304 *mabuin*, pattern on chest of male, person of rank (Pl. 9*a*).
192 *wapukun*, pattern on thighs of women.
atō, representation of fruit of sago-palm, sometimes cut on thighs of women (I have not seen this).
wapakurin, marks cut along back of arm in both sexes. A series of groups of short cuts, each group going in a different direction.

watitin úrits, lines of short cuts running round back of shoulder on to arm, in both sexes.
wasákip, another word for the above, used by people who stand in a taboo relationship to a man named Watitin and therefore cannot use this word.
waririkin, rows of round weals down the back curving inwards from each armpit or from the shoulder. Women only (Pl. 11*b*).
wagunas, pattern covering chest and abdomen in women, both persons of rank and commoners (Pls. 69, 70).
sisir a kobár, marks representing the trail of the hermit crab, sometimes put on the outside of a woman's thigh, but more often made by men on their arms and chest with a piece of bottle or a knife (Pl. 11*a*).

CHARACTERISTIC DECORATION

531 Many articles of daily use, as well as objects of ceremonial importance, are decorated with various designs, either carved or painted, or, as in the case of paddles, first carved and then picked out with paint. Most of these are traditional. Some can be given a meaning, in other cases the meaning, if any, has been lost, and informants will say that the word used just means that particular pattern.

531 Elaborate designs are found on the young coco-nut shells which
415 are used to contain powdered lime for chewing with the betel-mixture. They are incised with a black-lip oyster shell, and lime is then rubbed into the lines to make them stand out against the dark polished shell. Some of them are shown in Pl. 72. The most important is one involving the human figure (seen on the left of the second row). Lime-pots with such patterns are carried by the novices at one stage of the *watawutf* ceremony, and are so highly

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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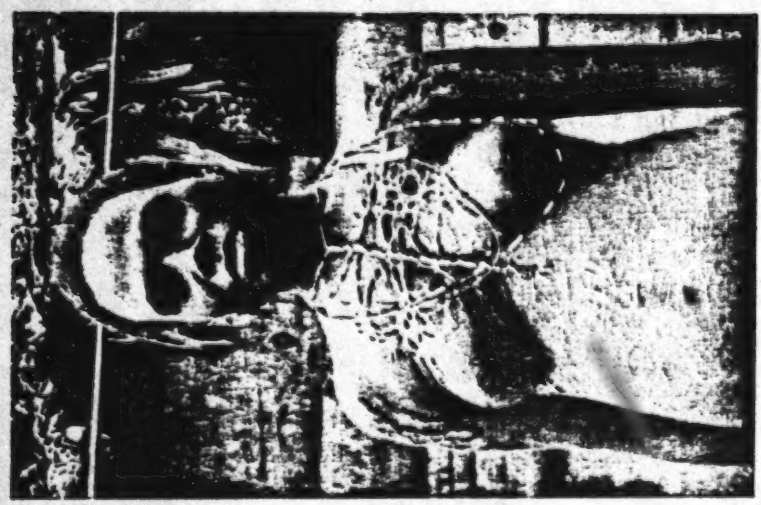
PLATE 71



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CICATRIZATION BADLY HEALED

[853
276]

[facing p. 432]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

me no information as to whether it had fallen or whether this was its original position.

These stones represent a man and his wife and their two children. The whole group goes by the name of Tohihiu. They are said to 'belong to' a man living in the village, who is of the Nakarib clan; he was described as their kinsman. When a child is born to a woman who is of his lineage the child's mother brings the baby to the place, a pig is killed and cut up, and the stones are washed with its blood. In the olden days it was customary on these occasions to make a raid into the mountains, bring home a prisoner from one of the mountain villages, eat him, and bring his head to the stones with the child: the head was then buried underneath the stones.[1] Then the women would collect quantities of taro 'belonging to the stones'; this would be eaten at the spot. It did not appear that the stones were themselves thought to eat any of it. Whenever a feast is due to be held to mark some epoch in the life of a child of the appropriate lineage, he is taken to the stones, and when the time comes for his skin to be cicatrized, that is done there also. Not very long before my visit a little boy had undergone this operation at the stones. When I examined them there were still traces upon them of the red paint with which they had been smeared on that occasion. (This is not necessarily to be regarded as a substitute for blood, as it is in itself a sacred substance which plays a part in many ceremonial activities, as described in previous chapters.)

Discussion

It was a matter of great concern to me that I could not get more information concerning these stone pillars. I am convinced that the ignorance professed by the natives was not assumed, and that they would have told me more details had they known any more themselves. The surprise of the Iltopan people when I laid bare the design on the stone 'A Pi' was most certainly genuine. It would seem as though the pillars had been set up in times past in connexion with some ritual that has been abandoned for so long that all memory of it has disappeared.

One of the missionaries told me that he understood from the

[1] A short time before my visit fragments of a human skull had been discovered in the vicinity of the stones during some digging in connexion with a new building for the Mission.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
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natives that the stones had been put up in times long past as memorials to dead chiefs. No mention of anything of this sort was made to me in the course of extensive inquiries, and I have no means of estimating the reliability of the report thus passed on to me at second-hand. It may, however, be noted in this connexion that Fox (1924, p. 288) reports that on some of the burial mounds of San Cristoval there are stone pillars 2 or 3 feet high, the use of which is quite unknown. One, over 10 feet high, and about 6 inches in diameter, is described as 'evidently worked'. At one mound there are two stone pillars, one of which appears from the diagram given by Fox to be similar in shape to those on Buka. This stone was set up whenever a woman was buried in the mound; the other, of a different shape, was set up at the burials of men.

While not rejecting altogether the hypothesis that the stone pillars of Buka and North Bougainville may be memorials to the dead, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate a little as to other possibilities in regard to their origin and purpose.

It will be remembered that both the Petats and the Kurtatchi people, without previous knowledge of the patterns on the stones, associated these with the designs which they cut on their skin. While visiting Timputs I was told, in quite another connexion, of a stone called Mukikimits, near Kowanis, on the north-east corner of Bougainville, which is said to have marks on it like those cut on the skin, and also the imprint of a man's foot. The ceremony for the cicatrization of children is held at this stone. An unfortunate accident prevented me from visiting it, so I do not know whether it is another of the stone pillars or a natural formation. But the mention of the marks upon it seems to indicate human handiwork. The question now arises, whether the similarity between the designs on the stones and those made on the skin by means of cicatrices indicates that both may at one time have formed part of the same ritual complex.

The reasons given to me for the practice of cicatrization were (i) that it helped the children to grow, (ii) that it was considered beautiful and attractive to persons of the opposite sex, (iii) that it 'made the milk come up' in young women.

The next link in my argument is provided by the ritual connected with the stones at Tiop. There are several points of resemblance between this and the ceremonies attached to the stone called Mubenoits. Both stones have 'children'. In both a pig is

Cannibalism, here as on the other islands of the South Seas, 266
seems not to have originated in the lack of other animal nourishment, but in the need to express the greatest abasement that can be shown to an enemy. To be sure, I know of cases in which cannibalism has become a passion; such cases nevertheless are probably rather isolated. On the other hand, I also know of cases in which 262
natives refused to take part in cannibal meals, not because these 266
meals caused them any moral qualms, but because they simply did not have any taste for this food. On the island of Torotzian the local chieftain is a great warrior who annually undertakes expeditions to Bougainville, which lies opposite, and has no compunction about killing his enemies; yet I know for a fact that he has tasted no human meat since his childhood. He is present when the bodies are cut up, distributes the various pieces, and observes the feast that follows with the greatest composure, without in the least urging anyone else to follow his example. At various times I have asked him as well as his people his reasons for this exceptional behavior, and the sole reason for his dislike of human meat was always: "He does not like it," his people said; "It does not taste good," he said.

Scarification

Everywhere in the region in question there prevails the custom 304●
of scarification of certain parts of the body, whereby certain patterns are produced. On the almost black skin of the Solomon Islanders a tattoo would leave no traces; scarification, however, leaves visible marks and replaces tattooing there. I have the impression that this skin decoration is practiced more frequently in the north than in the south, but even in the north it is not general, and you see a great many individuals without any skin markings.

Scarification of the skin is executed by men as well as women--the latter, however, seem to have the greatest artistic proficiency; both treat boys as well as girls. The process takes place somewhere [852]
between the 7th and the 11th year. For scratching the skin they use a sharpened shell (kappi in Buka). First the face is scarified (A. B. Meyer and R. Parkinson, Album von Papuatypen, Plates 26 and 27); the pattern consists of certain parallel zigzag lines arranged according to a set system. The facial scarification is called

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goûm. The men, moreover, have on the back of the neck a scarified figure consisting of straight, intersecting lines that is called goûm hahess, and a similar decoration on both shoulder blades, called murr. The scarification of women is much more extensive. In addition to the decorations of the men they also have scarified figures of the same pattern on their loins--called galagalan gessa or lagalagu--and on both ankles, called moun. The scars are healed and made visible by rubbing burned ochre into the wounds.

The scarification of the individual parts of the body is undertaken in sequence. Only when one part has completely healed is another part of the body treated. After the completion of each part the artist (male or female) receives the traditional payment, and at the same time a festival with obligatory banquets is held.

The scarification is reputedly very painful. Probably as a consequence of this, not everyone feels the desire and inclination to submit to the procedure. In women a completely executed scarification [832] is regarded by the men as a great ornament, and such girls [15] consequently are desired above others and obtain a higher purchase price. The women likewise seem to regard the scarification of the men as an attraction; it can also not be denied that the goûm of the men lends the face certain characteristic qualities that, in a wild and warlike people such as the islanders of the northwestern Solomon Islands are, causes the male face to appear particularly handsome.

In addition to the scarification of the above-mentioned parts of the body, it is customary for many men of the Emperor Range also to scarify the chest from one armpit to the other. The pattern is quite similar to the one described above--namely parallel lines that intersect, forming rectangles and zigzag lines. However, it is rarely that you see a well-scarred pattern; whether this is because the mountain inhabitants do not understand the healing of the wounds so well as the coastal inhabitants or because they proceed less carefully--in any case, as a rule the scars are irregular and make the chest appear as though it had been hacked up in all directions by irregular knife cuts.

there are ornamental objects shells and other materials that are occasionally put on. 301

The islanders wear a twofold ornament as war decoration. First the head is decorated with a plume made of white and yellow cockatoo feathers. Then [20] the warrior hangs a bunch of red and yellow-colored leaf strips around his neck and arranges it in such a way that it hangs down his back. In Buka this ornament is called kehala; it is made of strips of dried palm leaves approximately 50 centimeters long which are firmly fastened together at one end to form a round button, to which the cord that is put around the neck is attached. The strips that hang down loose are dyed red for a distance of about 10 centimeters from the button; then there is a section of about 10 centimeters which is left its original color; the remainder--about 30 centimeters--is again dyed red. This dye pattern, however, is not constant, even though it is the one that occurs by far the most frequently; it seems to be adjusted to the taste of the individual, but the red color is never missing. The kehala is a talisman that is supposed to protect one from being wounded in war, and it corresponds to the actual war ornament of the Admiralty Islanders, which consists of a human bone that is tightly wound with the pinions of the frigate bird. 301 714 [708] [171]

The men pierce the septum of the nose and insert a plug of polished tridacna shell through the opening. This plug, called huin in Buka, varies in length and thickness; I have seen some 13 centimeters in length and 1 centimeter in diameter. Both ends of the carefully smoothed and rounded huin are pointed. 301 [304]

Earrings are not frequent, but here and there the young men wear ear ornaments (hakoto in Buka) made of white snail shells and differing in form and arrangement. Normally 3 to 10 white snail shells are sewed on each side of a straight little piece of wood, and a single snail finishes off the row at the lower end; sometimes the wood is bent or broken and sewed only on one side with snail shells; normally a red-dyed strip of rattan is fastened lengthwise over the wood to conceal the threads with which the snails are attached.

Chest ornaments are likewise not common; apart from the now very fashionable European beads I observed two different breast plates that are similar in form. Both consist of a circular plate of polished tridachna shell. One type is decorated by placing on it a thin plate of tortoise shell with filigree work; in Buka it is called gulu, and it is identical with the same ornament in the Admiralty Islands, in New Mecklenburg, and in the southern Solomon Islands, although it does not reach by far the refinement of the 301 171

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
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follow will serve to illustrate the relationship referred to, as it is conceived by the natives of North Bougainville. 538 825

The Shark-child.

A man had connection with his wife. She was a young woman. She became pregnant. He thought she was carrying a child. Her time drew near. The child was born. She did not bear a real child, she bore a shark. It was born. The woman's mother thought she had borne a human child. She wanted to see it. She saw it, it was a shark. "What is that you have borne? It is a shark, belonging to the salt-water." They went and fetched some sea water, they poured it into a *kobu* (receptacle made of the fibrous sheath of the areca palm, much used by the natives for carrying and other purposes). They took the woman's shark-child, they put him inside. He stood up in the water. He stayed in the water, he grew big in the water. All the people did not know about him, only the woman's kinsfolk knew. Now he grew big. They made a feast for him. The woman's kinsfolk showed him to all the people. Some of the women said: "Let us go and look at the woman's child." They all said: "He isn't a real child, the woman has borne a shark." They all went and made him stand up at the bottom of a river. He stayed there, he did not leave the river. He made himself a house on the sand. When they made a feast, they took a piece of pig, they went and called out for the shark, and gave him the piece of pig. They cut the shark's skin. They made him stand up again.

539 825 [415 482]

The teller here explained that they cut a pattern on the shark's skin just like the pattern cut on his own chest. (These natives cut elaborate patterns on various parts of their bodies, rubbing lime into them so that the scars remain permanently.) He said that his own shark was called Muwatskawits, it lived at Timputs, his *tubune* bore it a long time ago. The term *tubune* is used for an ancestor, of [304]